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.LENGTH 80
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.; nbc news/wsj questionnaire $\#4001$ - For Final Version 11/1/89 bb

Hart-Teeter Interviewer:_1512 Respondents _ 1724 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. City/Town: _November 4-7, 1989 _ Washington, D.C. 20009 County: (202) 234-5570
_ 481 Male    _ 522 Female   _
Study #4001  NBC News/WSJArea Sample PointForm Date
National Survey November 1989 November 1989 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 _
Hello, my name is and I'm calling from Hart Research for NBC News and _The Wall Street Journal We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)
(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1DO NOT PAUSE.)
(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT
BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO
THE PHONE, SAY:)
Hello, my name is and I'm calling from Hart Research for NBC News and _The Wall Street Journal We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF YES, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1DO NOT PAUSE.)
\$

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Yes..... 100 -1 CONTINUE (12)
        No..... - _-2 TERMINATE AND DO NOT
        Not sure...... - -3 COUNT TOWARD QUOTA
2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in
  the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong
  track?
                          Sept 16-19_
        Right direction.__ 41 _-1 (13) __42 __
        Wrong track....._ 35 _-2 __ 34 _
         Mixed (VOL)...._ 19 _-3
         Not sure....._ 5 _-4
3. I'm going to read you the names of several people who are active in
  politics. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as
  either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative.
  or very negative. If you don't know the name of the person, please
  just say so. (READ EACH NAME AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM BOTTOM
  NAME ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW_.)
Don't Know
          Verv
                Somewhat
                              Somewhat Very Name/Not
         Positive Positive Neutral Negative Negative Sure
George Bush...... 24 _-1_ 38 _-2_ 17 _-3_ 11 _-4_ 8 _-5_ 2 _-6 (14)
Thomas Foley...... 3 _-1_ 12 _-2_ 16 _-3_ 4 _-4_ 2 _-5_ 63 _-6 (15)
Mikhail Gorbachev _ 13 _-1_ 41 _-2_ 20 _-3_ 10 _-4_ 8 _-5_ 8 _-6 (16)
Dan Quayle...... 7 _-1_ 22 _-2_ 26 _-3_ 17 _-4_ 21 _-5_ 7 _-6 (17)
Daniel Ortega..... 1 -1 4 -2 10 -3 17 -4 49 -5 19 -6 (18)
George Mitchell... 3 -1 11 -2 18 -3 6 -4 4 -5 58 -6 (19)
Margaret Thatcher. 25 _-1 _ 41 _-2 _ 17 _-3 _ 5 _-4 _ 3 _-5 _ 9 _-6 (20)
Jesse Jackson..... 15 _-1_ 30 _-2_ 23 _-3_ 16 _-4_ 13 _-5_ 3 _-6 (21)
.stretch 99
Ronald Reagan..... 19 -1 28 -2 17 -3 13 -4 21 -5 2 -6 (22)
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< 4a. How would you rate the congressman or woman from your districtdo you approve or disapprove of the job your representative is doing?
Approve 681 (25) Disapprove 162 Not sure 163
4b. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing as president?
Sept 16-19 Approve 671 (26) 67 Disapprove 222 17 Not sure 113 16
5a. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling the economy?
_Sept 16-19_ Approve 521 (27) _ 61 _ Disapprove 332 _ 24 _ Not sure 153 _ 15 _
5b. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling our foreign affairs?  _Sept 16-19_
6a. Looking ahead to the election for U.S. Congress in 1990, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?
<
Sept 16-19  Vote for the Republican candidate 271 (29) 29  Vote for the Democratic candidate 322 32  Depends (VOL) 283 24  Neither (VOL) 14 1  Not sure 125 14
6b. Looking ahead to the next election for U.S. Congress in 1990, do you feel your representative deserves to be reelected, or do you feel it is time to give a new person a chance?
Reelect representative 411 (30) Give new person a chance 362 Not sure

>		<b> </b>		<				
7a. Over t better,	he _past year gotten worse, o	_, do you or stayed	think about	the nati the same	<del>2</del> ?	economy	has	gotten
		Ф			•			
			Sept	16-19				
	Better				_			
	Worse			_ 23	_			
	About the sam	ne 49	93	_	57 _			
	Not sure	2 -	4	2				

7b. During the \_next year\_, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

8a. During the next year, do you think your family will be financially better off than it is today, worse off, or about the same?

8b. Thinking about your personal financial situation in the past three months, have you found it to be a period in which you have been _cutting down_ on purchases or the amount you could save, have you been _increasing_ your purchases or savings during the past three months, or has there been little change over the past three months?
·
Sept 16-19_ Cutting down 371 (34) 39 Increasing 162 15 Little change 463 45 Not sure/refused 14 1
9a. Recently, there was an attempt to overthrow General Noriega (PRONOUNCE: "nor-ee-AY-guh"), the leader of Panama. From what you have heard, do you think the United States should have assisted in the effort to overthrow General Noriega, or should the United States have stayed out and not gotten involved?
Should have assisted 451 (35) Should have stayed out_ 442 Not sure 113
9b. Do you approve or disapprove of the way the Bush Administration dealt with the attempt to overthrow General Noriega in Panama?
Approve 291 (38) Disapprove 512 Not sure 203
>
Should
11. At this time, would you favor or oppose providing military and economic assistance to the Contras in Nicaragua?
Favor military and economic assistance 311 (40) Oppose military and economic assistance 502 Favor only _economic_ assistance (VOL) 43 Not sure 154

12a. In the past, the U.S. and the Soviet Union have had a policy of trying to reach agreements to relax tensions between them. Do you think the Russians can be trusted now to live up to such agreements, or do you think they cannot be trusted?
\$
Russians can be trusted 431 (41) Russians cannot be trusted 402 Depends (VOL) 113 Not sure 64
12b. Do you think the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union is still going on, or is it mostly over?
Cold War still going on
13a. As a result of the changes in the Soviet Union, do think we should increase our level of defense spending, decrease it, or keep our level of defense spending about the same?
Increase defense spending 101 (43) Decrease defense spending 282 Keep defense spending about the same_ 593 Not sure 34

and still others feel we should keep it as it is. What is your opinion?
\$
Toughen stance 171 (46)  Relax stance 182  Keep as is 623  Not sure 34
13c. How much do you think the upcoming summit meeting between Presidents Bush and Gorbachev (PRONOUNCE: "gor-bah-CHOFF") can improve relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Uniona great deal, quite a bit, just some, or very little?
A great deal
13d. Who do you feel has more at stake in his own country in making sure that the summit is a successPresident Bush or President Gorbachev ("gor-bah-CHOFF")?
President Bush
14. Do you favor or oppose the United States providing economic assistance to Hungary and Poland?
Favor 571 (49) Oppose 312 Not sure 123
15. How often do you talk about government, politics, and public affairs with your family and friendsa great deal, quite a bit, some, only rarely, or almost never?
A great deal

Some...... 33 \_-3 Only rarely...... 15 \_-4

13b. As a result of the changes in the Soviet Union, some people have said it is time America should toughen its stance on national defense. Others have said it is time to relax our stance on national defense,

Almost never		75
Not sure	1	-6

16. How many days in an average week do you spend time reading about, directly discussing and following, or being involved in politics, public issues, or current affairs--every day, several times a week, a couple of times a week, or once a week or less?

Every day	39	1	(51)
Several times a week		20	2
A couple of times a week		_ 19	3
Once a week or less		21	-4
Not sure	1_	5	_

17. How much difference does it make in the lives of you and your family whether the Democratic Party or the Republican Party controls the federal government--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, not much, or none at all?

A great deal	24	-1	(52)
Quite a bit			` ,
Just some	_ 25	3	
Not much	_ 16	4	
None at all	14	5	
Not sure	3 _	-6	

>
Renominate Bush 391 (55)  Nominate someone else_ 332  Depends (VOL) 193  Not sure 94
19. And looking ahead again to 1992, do you think George Bush should choose Dan Quayle to be his vice president again, or do you think he should choose someone else to be his vice president?
Choose Quayle 281 (56) Choose someone else 522 Depends (VOL) 113 Not sure 94
20. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?
(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")
(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")
Strong Democrat 201 (57) Not strong Democrat 132 ASK Q.21a.
Independent/Lean Democrat 93 Strictly Independent 134
Independent/Lean Republican_ 145 SKIP
Not strong Republican 136 TO Strong Republican 147 Q.22a.
Other 28 Refused 19 Don't know/nothing 10

21a. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the 1992

Democratic nomination for president. (READ LIST.) If the Democratic primary for president were being held today, which candidate would you favor? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean? (RECORD BELOW UNDER Q.21a.)

.\_.....(Q.21a-c were asked of Democrats and Independents only)

- 21c. Is there any candidate on this list you find unacceptable and would not like to see the Democratic Party nominate for president in 1992?

  (IF "YES," ASK:) Which one or ones? (ACCEPT UP TO \_THREE\_ ANSWERS. .stretch 2

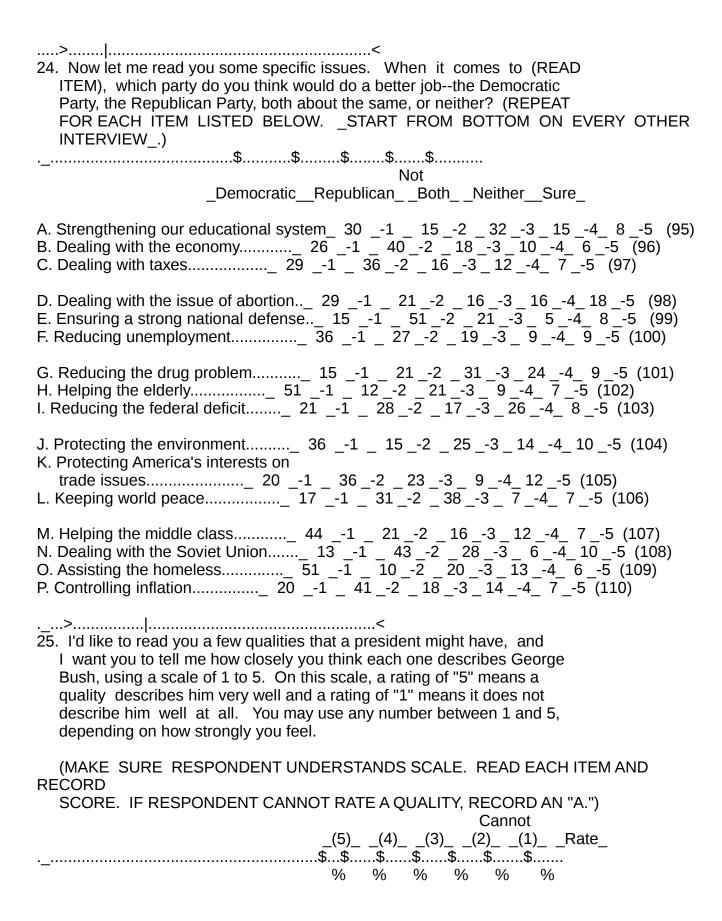
RECORD ABOVE UNDER Q.21c.)

(ASK EVERYONE)	
Democratic, more Republican, or	
\$	
More Democratic2 More Republican 3	231 (65) 31 -2
More Independent 4	403
Not sure 6	
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Straight Democratic ticket Mostly Democratic	151 (66) 162 Republicans_ 103 s 194 n Democrats_ 105 186 87 18 19
(FORM A ONLY) 23. What do you think President Buroffice? What makes you feel corpresident?\$	nfident that he might be a good
Good job, good president	15%
Agree with his stand on foreign po	olicy 13
Experienced	10
Economy	10
Honest, sincere, has integrity	8
Intelligent	7
Good leader, strong	7
Don't know. no response	- 12%

## (FORM B ONLY)

23. What do you think President Bush has done poorly in his first year in office? Looking ahead to the rest of George Bush's term, what concerns do you have about the job he will do as president?

Economy	16%		
Too weak, a wimp	10		
Should have helped to overthrow	Noriega	a	10
Disagree with his stand on abortio	n	9	
Poor job	7		
Drugs	7		
Don't approve of his foreign policy	,	6	
Deficit 6			
Don't know, no response	· <del>-</del>	9%	



2	
Hon	est, a person you can trust (112) _33301799 2 _
and	tight-fisted on funding health dieducation programs
	oderate, avoids extreme positions (115) _252427137
<sup>4</sup> _ <sub>Too</sub>	cautious, slow to act (116) _1820281714 3 _
	es about and fights for the average person (117) _1523281417
3 _ Dow 2 _	_ n-to-earth, relates well to people (118) _342719108
year ACC	? (IF "YES," ASK:) What were they? (DO NOT READ CHOICES. EPT UP TO _THREE_ RESPONSES.)

An avalanche 21 (127)
An avalanche 21 (127) A flood 42
A hurricane 153
A tornado 284
An earthquake 325
A volcanic eruption 36
A tidal wave 47
OTHER (VOL)
G
All (VOL) 5 -H
None ( $VOL$ ). $\overline{6}$ -I
All (VOL) 5H None (VOL) 6I Not sure 1J
\$
Yes, _directly_ affected 131 (128)
Yes, indirectly affected 16 -2
No, not affected 703
Not sure 14
31b. Would you support or oppose an increase of ten cents per gallon in the gasoline tax to pay for the damage done by Hurricane Hugo and the earthquake in California?
Support an increase in the gasoline tax_ 421 (129)
Oppose an increase in the gasoline tax 532
Not sure 53

32a. In general, would you say that you will be happy or sad to say goodbye to the 1980s, or somewhere in between?
\$<  Happy 271 (132)  Sad 152  Somewhere in between 553  Not sure 34
32b. Would you say the _1980s_ have been good, fair, or not so good for the country as a whole?
Good
32c. Do you think the _1990s_ will be better, the same, or worse for the country as a whole?
Better 471 (134) The same 272 Worse 173 Not sure 94
(FORM A ONLY)
i>
(PROBE:) How have things improved?
The economy is stable 20%
Unemployment is down 17
Good relations with USSR 11
Good foreign relations 7
Less drugs 7
Inflation is lower 6
Don't know, no response 14%

(FORM B ONLY)

>	t are the rs the _	ne one or two things about America that _1990s_?
(PROBE:) How are things wo	rse?	
Drugs	40%	
No help for homeless people		16
Economy is in bad shape		15
Too much crime	12	.2
No jobs	10	
Deficit	10	
Don't know, no response		7%

> <
FACTUALS:_ Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.
<
F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1988 presidential election? (IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you voteGeorge Bush, the Republican, or Michael Dukakis, the Democrat?
Didn't vote
Mostly Democratic 411 (164) Leaning Democratic 102 Completely Independent 83 Leaning Republican 64 Mostly Republican 255 Father not alive then or at home then (VOL) 26 Not sure 87
F3. And thinking about your mother, to the best of your knowledge, when you were growing up would you say that she was mostly Democratic, leaning Democratic, completely Independent, leaning Republican, or mostly Republican?
Mostly Democratic 401 (165) Leaning Democratic 102 Completely Independent 93 Leaning Republican 64 Mostly Republican 225 Mother not alive then or at home then (VOL) 36 Not sure 107

Very liberal 71 (166)
Somewhat liberal 202
Moderate 263
Somewhat conservative 254
Very conservative 105
No thoughts 106
Not sure 27

## F5. What is the last grade you completed in school?

\$ <
Grade school 21 (167)
Less than high school graduate 92
High school graduate 313
Some college, no degree 164
Vocational training, 2-year college 105
4-year college/Bachelor's degree 186
Some postgraduate work, no degree 27
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's degree_ 108
Doctoral degree/law degree 29
Not sure/refused0

F6. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?
<
18-24
>
JOB DESCRIPTION:_
OFFICE USE ONLY
>
Labor union member 151 (172) Labor union household 72 Non-union household 763 Not sure 24
< F9. What religion were you brought up in?

F12. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?
Less than \$10,000
F13. (ASK EVERYONE.) This survey is being conducted as part of continuing coverage of national issues by NBC News and _The Wall Street Journal A few reporters assigned to this story will be calling back a selected number of participants to get additional insights. Would you have any objection to being contacted?
Do not object 821 (179) Objectdo not call 182
May we please have your name and the town in which you live for validation purposes?
_RESPONDENT'S NAME:_
_Mr. Mrs. Ms. Miss (circle one)
TOWN:_
RECORD THE FOLLOWINGDO NOT ASK!
TELEPHONE NUMBER:_ / _ (Area Code)
_Length of Interview_ \$ <
10 minutes or less1 16 to 20 minutes 393 (180) 11 to 15 minutes 8 -2 21 to 25 minutes 34 -4

## 26 minutes or more...\_ 19 \_-5

Interview began:_ : a.m. (circle)	p.m Interview ended:_ : a.m. p.m (circle)	
	INTERVIEW AND HAS BEEN OBTAINED GREEMENT WITH HART RESEARCH ASSOCIATES	_
Interviewer's Name (PLEASI	E SIGN):	
_	_	
Validated By:_	Date:_	